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AUTHOR Torres, Marcia G.
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ABSTRACT

This paper presents a profile of Hispanic mothers who work and/or study, based on interviews in the 1979 National Longitudinal Survey. Particular focus is placed upon occupational and educational aspiration, as well as on the cultural and economic conditions which shape them. Data for Hispanic mothers are presented with similar data for Black and White mothers, in order to identify cultural characteristics which are exclusive to the Hispanic woman. Hispanics are shown to be significantly different from both of the other groups on the following dimensions: family size, language spoken in the home in childhood, marital status, the lack of a high school diploma, highest grade completed by mother and father, and occupational expectations for five years hence. Hispanics are shown to have shared the following dimensions with Blacks, which were significantly different from Whites: number of siblings who were enrolled in school, and the reported experience of discrimination due to nationality and/or race. In addition to discussing and statistically documenting the differences, this report compares its findings with previous social science research and makes recommendations for policy and further research. (Author/KH)

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ASPIRATIONS OF ADOLESCENT HISPANIC FEMALES FOR MARRIAGE

CHILDREN, EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT

Report #2

YOUNG HISPANIC MOTHERS ENROLLED IN SCHOOL AND/OR EMPLOYED

INTERVIEWED IN THE 1979 NATIONAL LONGITUDINAL SURVEY

Marcia G. Torres

315 West 102 Street 2-C

New York City 10025

May 1982

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
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Findings

This report presents the findings of the Hispanic, Black, and White working and/or studying mothers' subsample analysis. The cross-cultural comparisons are presented first as a preliminary step in identifying cultural characteristics which are exclusive to the Hispanic mother who works and/studies. Based on these findings the Hispanic mother profile will follow.

The determination of the significance of the differences across cultures was executed through Chi-Square analyses. Additionally, for those items which had a significant difference, three two-culture sub-analyses were executed using Chi-Square analysis with Bonferroni protection. Because of the small sample size of the Hispanic group and the large number of choices usually given for each variable in the original survey, an additional problem arose. An important factor which needed to be considered was a strategy to contend with the fact that most of the original tables would have a number of cells the frequency of which was lower than five. This is frequently considered a problem when using Chi-Square analysis.

The issue was researched, and a number of strategies were found to deal with the situation. The first suggestion was to collapse categories whenever possible in order to

raise the expected cell frequencies to the desired level. When this was not feasible it was found that the following conventions are used: When the number of degrees of freedom for a particular matrix are less than two, that is when the matrix is a two-by-two, Yates' Correction for continuity is applied (Alder & Roessler, 1968, p.215). With reference to this particular analysis, when there were only two original or collapsed responses on an item this procedure was applied to the two-culture sub-comparisons. On matrices which had degrees of freedom greater than one and small cell sizes, one cell with an expected cell frequency of less than five was considered acceptable (Richmond, 1964, p. 300; Snedecor & Cochran, 1967, p. 228).

Thus, whenever possible matrices with more than two degrees of freedom were collapsed, so that no more than one cell would have an expected cell frequency of less than five, In this way the usefulness of the Chi-Square analysis was preserved. Secondly, on matrices which had two original or collapsed responses, the Yates' Correction was applied to the three, two-culture sub-comparisons. Thirdly, with the matrices on which too much pertinent information would be lost if categories were collapsed, the decision was made to present them as they were without statistics, that is, exclusively for descriptive purposes. The final decision was, therefore, to make each matrix as

"worthy" of Chi-Square analysis as possible while preserving the optimal information which this unique data base can provide.

A. General Characteristics

In total 5,288 females between the ages of 14 and 22 were interviewed for the National Longitudinal Survey. Of these 1,003 (16.0%) were Hispanic, 1,568 (24.9%) were Black, and 3,717 (59.7%) were White. A relatively small percentage of HIspanic females, 15.1% (152) reported that they had children as did 20.6% (323) of the Blacks, and 11.6% (430) of the Whites. Of these mothers 29% (44) of the Hispanics, 35.3% (114) of the Blacks and 42.1% (181) of the Whites reported that they worked and/or studied.

Thus the sample population which will be described in the following pages consists of all Hispanic, Black, and White employed/enrolled mothers of young children in the NLS. It is important to keep in mind that although this sample includes every female with the above-mentioned characteristics within the NLS sample, the NLS itself specifically over-sampled Hispanic, non-Hispanic, non-Black, and non-Hispanic, non-Black poor youth. Thus, the results and the interpretations of these results will reflect the experiences, attitudes, and decisions of a subsample drawn from a larger sample of subjects of lower socioeconomic status.

Table 1 reflects that Hispanic mothers are only slightly more likely to stay at home with their small children than are Blacks (6% difference) and they in turn slightly more likely than Whites (7% difference). Overall it is important to note that in each group more young mothers than not stay at home with their very young children, although in each group a substantial percentage either choses to or finds it necessary to work and/or study.

Employment/Enrollment Status of Sample

The next logical question, or course is what is the break down of work and study for each of the groups. Fifteen (34.1%) Hispanic mothers reported school enrollment status, as did 59 (51.8%) of Blacks and 44 (24.3%) of whites. In this sample 35 (79.5%) of Hispanic mothers reported that they currently held a job, as did 80 (70.2%) of Black mothers and 136 (75.1%) of White mothers. Based on the above information it can be concluded that in all of the groups the mothers were more likely to be employed (70%+) than enrolled. Interestingly enough, the Hispanic mothers were the most likely to be employed followed by the Whites and then Blacks. The Black mothers were clearly more likely to be attending school than were Hispanic mothers and White mothers, and White mothers were the least likely.

These results support findings concerning the more frequent integration of the work role and the role of

motherhood by Hispanic than White mothers. These results also add the dimension of the Black mother who seems to be more highly motivated in education. The difference between Hispanic and Black experiences leads to a number of speculations concerning the reasons behind lower school enrollment rates for Hispanics. One area which needs to be explored consists of the block which Hispanics perceive and/or experience in education. Specifically I am refering to the issue of language being an impediment that is specific to the Hispanic group. This would be more of a problem in a school setting than, for example, in a factory situation where a repetitive job requires little understanding of language. An additional problem which is an offshoot of this issue is a more limited understanding of the mechanisms of an academic bureaucracy, including the all-important office of financial aid. The speculations are based on the hypotheses that linguistic differences and immigration are specifically more a part of the Hispanic mothers' direct life experiences than the other two groups.

Culture, Place of Birth and Language

With reference to place of birth, the data summarized on Table 2 reflect the following: although the majority of Hispanic mothers were born in the United States (70.5%), the rest (29.5%) had personally gone through the immigration experience. This is a significantly higher frequency

TABLE 1[a]

Background Information

Total Number of Females in National Longitudinal Survey: 6288

	Hispanic	Black	White
Number of Females by Culture	1003 (16.0)	1568 (24.9)	3717 (59.7)
Number of Mothers by Culture	152 (15.2)	323 (20.6)	430 (11.6)
Number of Mothers who do Not Work or Study	108 (71.1)	209 (64.7)	249 (58.0)
Number of Mothers who do Work and/or Study	44 (29.0)	114 (35.3)	181 (42.1)

TABLE 2[a]

Country Of Respondent's Birth

	Hispanic	Black	White
In The United States	31 (70.5)	110 (96.5)	174 (96.1)
Another Country	13 (29.5)	4 (3.5)	7 (3.9)
Totals	44	114	181

X^2=38.81 P<0.01

X^2 of subcomparisons with Bonferroni Protection:
Hispanic/White (H/W) 25.73, P<0.01
Hispanic/Black (H/B) 19.78, P<0.01
Black/White (B/W) 2.47, not significant

[a]Figures in parentheses = % of respondents answering this item.

than either of the other two groups (Blacks: 3.5%, Whites 3.9%). Additionally, by examining the responses to the question "Where did the respondent live at age 14?" (see Table 3), we see that the great majority of the Hispanic mothers who immigrated did so after the age of 14 (10 out of 13). That is, most of these young women contended with the stresses of immigation which would include leaving familiar places and psycho-social support systems and arriving in a country that is culturally and linguistically very different, as well as frequently hostile, to culturally different people. Additionally, they faced a school system with different structures and expectations as well as the formidable problem of learning English. Finally, it is important to note that in addition to the 29.5% of Hispanic mothers who reported that they were born outside of the United States, another 59.1% reported that their home life in childhood included the significant cultural experience of Spanish language utilization (see Tables 4 & 5). In total this means that 88.6% of the Hispanic mothers had this linguistic experience.

In relation to racial/ethnic origin the groups again are significantly, if predictable, different. The Hispanic subgroups that are most highly represented in this sample were: Mexican American (43%), Mexican (9%); other Hispanic (14%), Puerto Rican (4.5%) and Cuban (4.5%). Of the Black mothers, 96% identified themselves as "Black." Whites

TABLE 3[a] [b]

Where Respondent Lived At Age 14

	Hispanic	Black	White
In the United States	34 (77.3)	113 (99.1)	179 (98.9)
In Another Country	10 (22.7)	1 (0.9)	2 (1.1)
Totals	44	114	181

[a]Descriptive Table, No Statistics Calculated

TABLE 4[b] [c]

Language Other Than English Spoken in the Home During Childhood

	Hispanic	Black	White
Another Language Reported	39 (88.6)	4 (3.5)	23 (12.7)
None Reported	5 (11.4)	110 (96.5)	158 (87.3)
Totals	44	114	181

X^2=158.06 P<0.01

X^2 of subcomparisons with Bonferroni Protection:
H/W=98.46, P<0.01
H/B=111.9, P<0.01
B/W= 6.05, P<0.02

[b]Figures in parentheses = % of respondents answering this item.

[c]This is a created variable developed from items on the NLS.

TABLE 5[a b]

Other Language Spoken At Home During Childhood

	Hispanic	Black	White
Spanish	39 (100)	1 (25.0)	5 (21.7)
French	0 (0)	2 (50.0)	2 (8.7)
Other	0 (0)	1 (25.0)	13 (56.5)
Totals	39	4	23

[a]Descriptive Table, No Statistics Calculated.

[b]Figures in parentheses = % of respondents answering this item.

identified with a variety of mostly European backgrounds (see Table 6).

Religiosity

With reference to religious background, more than 80% of the Hispanics reported that they were raised as Catholics; 70%+ of the Blacks reported that they were brought up as Baptists; and Whites reported a variety of religious affiliations in childhood but more than 35% specifically reported Protestant (including Baptist) backgrounds. The pattern remained the same for "present religious affiliation" with a low rate of shift towards "non-affiliation" with some cultural differences (see Tables 7 & 8). Blacks shifted at a lower rate (3.4% difference) than did Hispanics (9.1%) or Whites (10.6%).

In relation to frequency of religious attendance (see Table 9) the findings were: with reference to frequent religious attendance, "monthly plus", Hispanic mothers (50%) fell between the Blacks (68%) and the Whites 35%). The pattern was the same when any two groups were compared and in each of the response categories. However, there was a significant difference only between Blacks and Whites.

Thus, the Black group could be described as the most religious and the White group as the least religious if attendance and maintenance of religious beliefs can, in combination, be interpreted to reflect such. These findings

TABLE 6[a b]

Racial-Ethnic Origin Of Respondent

	Hispanic	Black	White
None	0 (0)	0 (0)	2 (1.1)
Black	0 (0)	108 (94.7)	0 (0)
Scotish or English	1 (2.3)	1 (0.9)	58 (32.4)
French	1 (2.3)	0 (0)	18 (10.1)
German	2 (4.5)	1 (0.9)	17 (19.6)
American Indian	0 (0)	0 (0)	15 (8.4)
Irish	1 (2.3)	1 (0.9)	17 (9.5)
Cubano, Latino	2 (4.5)	0 (0)	0 (0)
Mexican	9 (20.5)	0 (0)	0 (0)
Mexican American	19 (43.2)	0 (0)	1 (0.6)
Puerto Rican	2 (4.5)	0 (0)	0 (0)
Other Hispanic/Spanish	6 (13.6)	0 (0)	0 (0)
American	0 (0)	1 (0.9)	24 (13.4)
Other	1 (2.3)	2 (1.8)	9 (5.0)
Totals	44	114	179

[a]Descriptive Table, No Statistics Calculated.

[b]Figures in parentheses = % of respondents answering.

TABLE 7[a] [b]

In What Religion Was Respondent Raised

	Hispanic	Black	White
None	2 (4.5)	3 (2.7)	10 (5.6)
Baptist	2 (4.5)	82 (72.6)	57 (32.0)
Other Protestant	1 (2.3)	10 (8.8)	45 (25.3)
Catholic	36 (81.8)	7 (6.2)	43 (24.2)
Other	3 (6.8)	11 (9.7)	23 (12.9)
Totals	44	113	178

[a]Descriptive Table, No Statistics Calculated.

[b]Figures in parentheses = % of respondents answering this item.

TABLE 8[a] [b]

Present Religious Affiliation

	Hispanic	Black	White
None	6 (13.6)	7 (6.1)	29 (16.2)
Baptist	0 (0)	73 (64.0)	43 (24.0)
Other Protestant	2 (4.5)	13 (11.4)	41 (22.9)
Catholic	34 (77.3)	8 (7.0)	44 (24.6)
Other	2 (4.5)	13 (11.4)	22 (12.3)
Totals	44	114	179

[a]Descriptive Table, No Statistics Calculated.

[b]Figures in parentheses = % of respondents answering this item.

TABLE 9[a]

Frequency of Religious Attendance

	Hispanic	Black	White
Not At All	8 (18.2)	11 (9.6)	48 (26.5)
Infrequently	14 (31.8)	25 (21.9)	69 (38.1)
Monthly	7 (15.9)	17 (14.9)	8 (4.4)
Two to Three Times per Month	3 (6.8)	27 (23.7)	16 (8.8)
Weekly Plus	12 (27.3)	34 (29.8)	70 (22.1)
Totals	44	114	181

X^2=41.07, P<0.01

X^2 of subcomparisons with Bonferroni Protection:
H/W= 8.96, not significant
H/B= 8.03, not significant
B/W=37.03, P 0.01

[a]Figures in parentheses = % of respondents answering this item.

do support the notion that a majority of Hispanics are Catholic, but they do not support the idea that Hispanics are the most "religious" group.

Age

In the category of age, no significant differences were found among any of the groups. The mean ages for these mothers were: Hispanics: 19.55, Blacks: 19.60, and Whites: 19.96. This places all three groups solidly in the middle range of the age possiblilties represented in the NLS which is 14-22 (see Table 10). Thus, this sample of mothers does not fit the common image of very young teenaged mothers in any of the cultural groups, and it does not fit the image of motherhood taken up at a particularly early age by Hispanics.

Family Size and Marital Status

With reference to family size, no significant differences were found in the cross-cultural comparison. More than 70% of each group had only one child. The Hispanic group did have a slightly higher response rate the the "2+ children" category (see Table 11). This did set them apart from the other two groups by approximately a 10% difference; however, this was not signficant. One could speculate from this data that although these Hispanic mothers do have a slightly higher rate of reproduction, the non-significance of the differences may mean that they are

TABLE 10[a]

Respondent's Age

	Hispanic	Black	White
14 to 17	6 (13.6)	13 (11.4)	9 (5.0)
18	6 (13.6)	13 (11.4)	18 (9.9)
19	6 (13.6)	20 (17.5)	30 (16.6)
20	8 (18.2)	26 (22.8)	50 (27.6)
21	17 (38.6)	35 (30.7)	57 (31.5)
22	1 (2.3)	7 (6.1)	17 (99.4)
Totals	44	114	181

X^2=11.05, not significant

[a]figures in parentheses = % of respondents answering this item.

not reproducing at as high a rate as is currently attributed to Hispanics.

The data reflected significant differences with reference to marital status between Hispanics and Blacks and between Blacks and Whites; however, the difference between Whites and Hispanics was not significant. Thus, the extremes on this item were Hispanics and Blacks, with Hispanics and Whites having a high and very similar frequency of being presently married (63.6% & 62.4% respectively) and Blacks having a low rate on this item (26.3%). At the other end of the spectrum, Blacks had a significantly higher frequency of never having been married (65.8%), when compared with Hispanics (31.8%) and Whites (23.2%). This data is presented on Table 12.

In the divorced/separated category, Whites had twice the percentage rate than did Blacks and three times the rate of Hispanics.

To summarize the findings of this item, Hispanic and White mothers tended to be currently married twice as often as were Blacks. White mothers tended to be separated or divorced almost twice as often as were Blacks and almost three times as often as were Hispanics. Finally, Black mothers tended to be unmarried twice as frequently as Hispanics and Whites. From this data one could attribute these differences to "issues of culture." However, one of the ambiguities of this item is that it does not provide

TABLE 11[a]

Number of Children Respondent Has

	Hispanic	Black	White
One	27 (71.1)	87 (82.1)	135 (81.3)
Two or More	11 (28.9)	19 (17.9)	31 (18.7)
Totals	38	106	166

X^2=0.38, not significant

TABLE 12[a]

Respondent's Marital Status At Present

	Hispanic	Black	White
Presently Married	28 (63.6)	80 (26.3)	113 (62.4)
Divorced or Separated	2 (4.5)	9 (7.9)	26 (14.4)
Never Married	14 (31.8)	75 (65.8)	42 (23.2)
Totals	44	114	181

X^2=51.54, P<0.01

X^2 of subcomparisons with Bonferroni Protection:
H/W=46.90, P<0.01
H/B=92.44, P<0.01
B/W=51.05, P<0.01

[a]Figures in parentheses = % of respondents answering this item.

information about couples who live together and in such a way provide mutual support. This is a factor which is important to keep in mind given the fact that the phenomenon of unmarried couples living together is becoming less unusual in this society.

B. Education

School Enrollment and Achievement

To begin this section on education the actual achievement level of each group in this category will be summarized. Fifteen (34%) Hispanics, 59 (51.8%) Black, and 44 (24.3%) White mothers reported that they were enrolled in school at the time of their interview (see Table 13). The data clearly reflects that the Black mothers are the most frequently enrolled in school, the Hispanics are less so and the White mothers are the least frequently enrolled. A significant difference was, however, found only between the two extremes, the Blacks and Whites. Additional significant differences were found among the groups in relation to highest grade completed. The direction of the differences were consistent with the findings in Table 13 with reference to Black behavior. At the higher level (college) Blacks had the highest percentage rate (14.2%), they were followed by Whites (8.3%) who in turn were followed by Hispanics (6.8%). At the level of high school completion, Blacks and Whites were very close (50.4% and 51.7% respectively) while

TABLE 13[a] [b]

Grade Attending At Present

	Hispanic	Black	White
Enrolled in Eighth Grade or High School	6 (13.6)	22 (19.3)	10 (5.5)
Enrolled in College	2 (4.5)	16 (14.0)	8 (4.4)
Enrolled in Vocational Program	7 (15.9)	21 (18.4)	26 (14.4)
Did Not Report Enrollment	29 (65.9)	55 (48.2)	137 (75.7)
Totals	44	114	181

X^2=29.99, P<0.01

X^2 of subcomparisons with Bonferroni Protection:
H/W= 3.79, not significant
H/B= 5.06, not significant
B/W=29.00, P<0.01

[a]Variable Created from NLS Information.

[b]Figures in parentheses = % of respondents answering this item.

TABLE 14[a]

Highest Grade Completed

	Hispanic	Black	White
Grades 1 to 11	27 (61.4)	40 (35.4)	72 (40.0)
Completed High School	14 (31.8)	57 (50.4)	93 (51.7)
Some College	3 (6.8)	16 (14.2)	15 (8.3)
Totals	44	113	180

X^2=11.17, P 0.05

X^2 of subcomparisons with Bonferroni Protection all non-significant.

[a]Figures in parentheses = % of respondents answering this item.

Hispanics were nearly 20 percentage points lower. When reviewing the lowest category on this item (grade one-eleven) it became clear that the Hispanic mothers were lost by the U.S. educational system primarily at this level; 61.4% of them had only completed grades within this range when compared with 35.4% of Blacks and 40% of Whites. Table 15 specifically explored whether the respondent had a high school diploma or equivalent and reflected the same pattern: 76% of the Blacks had achieved this level in contrast to Whites (73.7%) and Hispanics (44.7%). Hispanics were significantly different from the first two groups.

School Aspirations and Expectations

Interesting differences and similarities were found when comparing the achievement levels described above with the aspirations and expectations of the cultural groups (see Tables 16 and 17). No significant differences were found among the three groups, although the Blacks had an edge on the other two groups in every category beyond high school. At the Bachelor's level the Blacks were most closely followed by the Hispanics; at the Master's level they were followed more closely by the Whites. It is important to note that no group actually perceived it as feasible to acquire a Master's degree above the 8% level. The majority of these mothers believed they would not earn the Bachelor's degree (Hispanics 78%, Blacks 68.4%,

TABLE 15[a]

Has a High School Diploma or Equivalent

	Hispanic	Black	White
No	21 (55.3)	16 (17.4)	45 (26.3)
Yes	17 (44.7)	76 (82.6)	126 (73.7)
Totals	38	92	171

X^2=19.63, P<0.01

X^2 of subcomparisons with Bonferroni Protection:
H/W=10.76, P<0.01
H/B=17.13, P<0.01
B/W=2.20, not significant

[a]Figures in parentheses = % of respondents answering this item.

TABLE 16[a]

Highest Grade Would Like To Complete

	Hispanic	Black	White
Grade 1 to 12	23 (52.3)	34 (29.8)	81 (44.8)
1 to 3 years of college	6 (13.6)	22 (19.3)	34 (18.8)
Bachelor's Degree	13 (29.5)	47 (41.2)	52 (28.7)
Master's Degree	2 (4.5)	11 (9.6)	14 (7.7)
Totals	44	114	181

X^2=10.66, not significant

TABLE 17[a]

Highest Grade Thinks She Will Complete

	Hispanic	Black	White
Grade 1 to 12	21 (51.2)	44 (38.6)	106 (58.9)
1 to 3 years of college	11 (26.8)	34 (29.8)	39 (21.7)
Bachelor's Degree	8 (19.5)	28 (24.6)	27 (15.0)
Master's Degree	1 (2.4)	8 (7.0)	8 (4.4)
Totals	41	114	180

X^2=12.50, not significant

[a]Figures in parentheses = % of respondents answering this item.

and Whites 80.6%). Additionally, it is important to note that all three groups had noticeably higher aspirations for the Bachelor's degree and beyond (Hispanics 34.1%, Blacks 50.9%, and Whites 36.5%) than their expectations (Hispanics 21.9%, Blacks 31.6%, and Whites 19.4%). Thus, the group which had the highest gap between aspirations and expectations were the Blacks with 19.3% difference, followed by Whites with 17.1% difference and then Hispanics with 14.1% difference. This gap between higher aspirations and lower expectations held across cultures. Since it is a cross-cultural issue, the results can either be interpreted as due to the internal experiences of women psychologically holding themselves back and/or external blocks with which they contend in their lives. Although the NLS data do not provide information about environmental issues in detail (e.g., quality of schools, teacher attitudes, etc.), it does provide some information concerning the reasons given by respondents for having left school. As is reflected in Table 18, many of the respondents gave "completion of degree" as the reason for having left school (Hispanics 28.5%, Blacks 60.5%, Whites 45.2%) Blacks gave this reason more frequently. Marriage, pregnancy and home-related responsibilities were given more frequently by Hispanics (42.9%) than by Whites (28.7%) or Blacks (18.4%). With reference to school-related reasons, the White mothers seemed to dislike school more

TABLE 18[a b c]

Why Did the Respondent Leave School?

	Hispanic	Black	White
Received Degree	10 (28.6)	46 (60.5)	71 (45.2)
Getting Married	5 (14.3)	2 (2.6)	18 (11.5)
Pregnancy	7 (20.0)	7 (9.2)	23 (14.6)
Did Not Like School	2 (5.7)	4 (5.3)	15 (9.6)
Poor Grades	0 (0)	2 (2.6)	0 (0)
Home Responsibilities	3 (8.6)	5 (6.6)	4 (2.5)
Good Job-Work	1 (2.9)	2 (2.6)	3 (1.9)
Financial Problems	3 (8.6)	2 (2.6)	6 (3.8)
Entering Military	0 (0)	1 (2.6)	3 (3.8)
Expelled-Suspended	1 (2.9)	1 (1.3)	0 (0)
School Too Dangerous	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (0.6)
Moved Away	1 (2.9)	0 (0)	5 (3.2)
Other Reasons	2 (5.7)	4 (5.3)	8 (5.1)
Totals	35	76	157

[a]Descriptive Table, No Statistics Calculated.

[b]Black response rate less than 70%.

[c]Figures in parentheses = % of respondents answering.

frequently (9.6%) than did either Blacks (5.3%) or Hispanics (5.7%). The last item that produced a noteworthy response referred to financial problems. In this category Hispanics had a higher response frequency (8.6%) than did Blacks (6.6%) or Whites (3.8%). Although this particular table does not provide statistically analyzable data, it does provide basic information about the experiences of these mothers as they themselves reported them, and as such, the information can be used to begin to form some hypotheses about their experiences.

School Attitudes

As Table 13 showed, Hispanic mothers of the sample tended to drop out of school during high school at a higher rate than did the other two groups. For this reason another important dimension to explore was the mothers' school attitudes at this educational stage. The NLS interviewed mothers who were enrolled up through high school at the time of the survey. This consisted of 6 Hispanics, 22 Blacks and 10 Whites in total. The information presented in Table 19 summarizes the findings. There were no pronounced differences among the three groups with reference to attitudes about high school. The majority in each of the groups reported having positive attitudes in all of the dimensions presented to them on this item. The item which received the most negative response from all three groups was that schools were

TABLE 19

School Attitudes[a] [b]

		Hispanic	Black	White
Easy To Make Friends at School?	Very or Somewhat True	5 (83.3)	20 (90.9)	10 (100.0)
	Not too True/ Not True	1 (16.6)	2 (9.1)	0 (0)
Teachers Help With Personal Problems?	Very or somewhat True.	5 (83.3)	18 (81.8)	9 (90.0)
	Not too True/ Not True.	1 (16.6)	4 (18.2)	1 (10.0)
Most Classes Are Boring?	Very or somewhat True.	2 (33.3)	12 (55.5)	4 (40.0)
	Not True/ Not True.	4 (66.7)	10 (45.5)	6 (60.0)
I Don't Feel Safe in School.	Very or Somewhat True.	0 (0)	2 (9.1)	1 (10.0)
	Not too True/ Not True.	6 (100.0)	20 (90.9)	9 (90.0)
Teachers Know Subjects Well?	Very or Somewhat True.	5 (83.3)	18 (81.8)	10 (100.0)
	Not too True/ Not True.	1 (16.6)	4 (18.2)	0 (0)
You Can Get Away With Anything?	Very or Somewhat True.	2 (33.3)	5 (22.7)	1 (10.0)
	Not too True/ Not True.	4 (66.7)	17 (77.3)	9 (90.0)
Freedom to Learn at School?	Very or Somewhat True.	5 (83.3)	17 (77.3)	7 (70.0)
	Not too True/ Not True.	1 (16.6)	5 (22.7)	3 (30.0)
Good Job Counseling at School?	Very or Somewhat True.	5* (100.0)	16 (72.7)	7 (70.0)
	Not too True/ Not True.	0 (0)	6 (27.3)	3 (30.0)
Satisfaction with School?	Very or Somewhat Dissat.	1 (16.6)	4 (18.2)	3 (30.0)
	Very or Somewhat Satisfied.	5 (83.3)	18 (81.8)	7 (70.0)
Totals Except for *		6	22	10

[a]Descriptive Table, No Statistics Calculated.

[b]Respondents limited to those in grade school and high school.

perceived as boring. Although the school attitudes item as a whole could not be analyzed statistically due to cell-frequency problems, it had particular relevance because negative school attitudes have frequently been linked with poor school performance particularly with reference to minorities.

Roles Models

Another variable which has frequently been considered important in relation to school achievement is the dimension of role models. With reference to the respondents' mothers as role models for education, the data reflected that these Hispanics' experiences were significantly different from Blacks and Whites. The majority of these Hispanic respondents' mothers did not go beyond eighth grade (58.3%) whereas the majority of Black and White respondents' mothers made it into high school (64.2% and 71.0% respectively, Table 20).

With reference to the respondents' fathers' educational experiences the pattern was similar. Fifty percent of the Hispanics' fathers did not go beyond eighth grade, whereas the fathers of Black and White respondents went to high school 60.9% and 60.2% respectively, Table 21.

With reference to siblings as role models, first of all 100% of the Hispanics, 97.4% of the Blacks and 95.6% of the Whites reported that they had siblings. Of these 65.9% of the Hispanics reported that they were currently

TABLE 20[a]

Mother's Education

	Hispanic	Black	White
0 to 8th Grade	21 (58.3)	28 (25.7)	28 (16.6)
9th to 12th Grade	14 (38.9)	70 (64.2)	120 (71.0)
College and Beyond	1 (2.8)	11 (10.1)	21 (12.4)
Totals	36	109	169

X^2= 28.58 P<0.01

X^2 of Subcomparisons with Bonferroni Protection:
H/W=28.92, P<0.01
H/B=13.28, P<0.01
B/W= 3.50, Not Significant

TABLE 21[a]

Father's Education

	Hispanic	Black	White
0 to 8th Grade	18 (50.0)	26 (29.9)	43 (25.9)
9th to 12th Grade	16 (44.4)	53 (60.9)	100 (60.2)
College and Beyond	2 (5.6)	8 (9.2)	23 (13.9)
Totals	36	87	166

X^2=12.54 P<0.05

$X^2$of Subcomparisons with Bonferroni Protection:
H/W=8.62, P<0.01
H/B=13.28, P<0.01
B/W= 3.50, Not Significant

[a]Figures in parentheses=% of respondents answering this item.

enrolled in school, as did 82.9% of the Blacks and 78.6% of the Whites. A major problem with this item was that it did not provide information concerning whether the siblings were of school age or not. It did, however, tell whether the respondent had a sibling who modeled school enrollment behaviors at the time of the interview. The data showed that although Hispanics and Blacks had a higher frequency of reporting that they had siblings than did Whites, their frequency rates for siblings who attended school were both significantly lower than Whites (Tables 22 & 23).

Table 24 presented the same problem as did the previous one, but it did not provide information about minimum achievement levels of siblings at the time of the interview. Interestingly enough, there were no significant differences on this item across cultures, and at least 20% of each group of respondents had siblings who had completed some college or more. It is important to note that Hispanics and Blacks had an overall response rate that was slightly lower than 70%, that is, 68.2% and 66.9% respectively and that Whites had 71% on this particular item.

The next role model explored by the NLS was the respondent's spouse (see Table 25). The first element to be noted on this item was the low response rate for Blacks (21%) in contrast to those for Hispanics (68.2%) and Whites (76.8%). The information from this table must

TABLE 22[a]

Number of Living Siblings

	Hispanics	Blacks	Whites
Zero	0 (0)	3 (2.6)	8 (4.4)
One	7 (15.9)	7 (6.1)	22 (12.2)
Two	4 (9.1)	10 (8.8)	24 (13.3)
Three	6 (13.6)	13 (11.4)	49 (27.4)
Four or More	27 (61.4)	81 (71.1)	78 (43.1)
Totals	44	114	181

X^2=27.46 P<0.01

X^2 of Subcomparisons with Bonferroni Protection:
H/W= 7.97, Not Significant
H/B= 5.15, Not Significant
B/W=22.71. P<0.01

[a]Figures in parentheses = % of respondents answering this item.

TABLE 23[a]

Number of Siblings Currently in School

	Hispanics	Blacks	Whites
Zero	15 (34.1)	19 (17.3)	37 (21.6)
One	11 (25.0)	24 (21.8)	59 (34.5)
Two	6 (13.6)	22 (20.0)	37 (21.6)
Three	4 (9.1)	11 (10.0)	23 (13.5)
Four Plus	27 (61.4)	81 (71.1)	78 (43.1)
Totals	44	110	171

X^2=28.88 P<0.01

X^2 of subcomparisons with Bonferroni Protection:
H/W= 7.76, Not Significant
H/B= 6.76, Not Significant
B/W=23.84, P<0.01

[a]Figures in parentheses = % of respondents answering this item.

TABLE 24[a]

Highest Grade Completed by Oldest Sibling

	Hispanic	Black	White
0 - 8th Grade	5 (16.7)	7 (8.6)	5 (4.1)
9th - 12th Grade	18 (60.0)	57 (70.4)	89 (73.6)
College and Beyond	7 (23.3)	17 (21.0)	27 (22.3)
Totals	30	81	121

X^2=6.14 Not significant

TABLE 25[a b]

Highest Grade Completed by Most Recent Spouse

	Hispanic	Black	White
0 - 8th Grade	7 (23.3)	2 (5.3)	8 (5.8)
9th - 12th Grade	17 (56.7)	26 (68.4)	109 (78.4)
College and Beyond	6 (20.0)	10 (26.3)	22 (15.8)
Totals	30	38	139

X^2=13.36 P<0.01

X^2 of subcomparisons with Bonferroni Protection:
H/W=10.41, P<0.01
H/W= 2.21, not significant
B/W= 2.22, not significant

[a]Figures in parentheses = % of respondents answering item.

[b]Response rates for Black and Hisapnic groups were less than 70%.

be complemented with the information presented in Table 12 concerning marital status. As the reader will recall, Blacks had a significantly lower frequency for being married. Table 25, therefore, reflected that there was a more frequent absence of such a potential educational model for the Black mothers. Beyond this important factor, the data reflected that there were significant differences between the Hispanic and White experiences in that Hispanic spouses tended to have completed lower levels of education than did Blacks or Whites. As an example of this, at the 0-8th grade level the results were: Hispanics (23.3%), Blacks (5.3%), and Whites (5.8%). In the "college plus" category, Hispanics and Blacks had a higher frequency than did Whites (20%, 26.3%, and 15.8% respectively; see Table 25).

The final role model in education from the NLS was the respondent's closest friend. It is important to note that this item (Table 26) explored aspirations rather than achievement, and, as such, it could only be compared with Table 16 which was the only other aspirational item in this section. No significant differences were found across the groups in this category. The Blacks, however, again had a slight positive edge over Hispanics and Whites in the college and beyond category. A second interesting finding was that when Table 16 (respondent's aspirations) was compared with this table, the respondents themselves

TABLE 26[a]

Highest Grade Closest Friend Would Like to Complete

	Hispanics	Blacks	Whites
0 - 12th Grade	20 (54.1)	49 (44.2)	105 (59.7)
1st - 3rd Year of College	4 (10.8)	20 (18.0)	16 (9.1)
Bachelor's Degree and Beyond	13 (35.2)	42 (37.8)	55 (31.3)
Totals	37	111	176

X^2=8.41 Not significant

[a]Figures in parentheses = % of respondents answering item.

had higher educational aspirations than did their closest friends.

C. OCCUPATION

Occupational Achievement

As was noted in the first section of this chapter, from this sample, 35 (79.5%) Hispanics, 80 (70.2%) Blacks, and 136 (75.1%) Whites were working at the time of the interview. That is, Hispanic mothers in this sample were the most likely to be working, whereas Whites were the least likely and Blacks were in between. The data on Table 27 which summarized the responses of the mother reflected that at least 94% of each group was concentrated below the professional, managerial/administrative level. They were fairly evenly distributed among the three remaining job categories with little difference among the three cultures.

With reference to "Class of Worker" the data on Table 28 reflected that 80%+ of each group worked in private industry with little difference among them. In relation to government jobs, however, there were some differences, in that Blacks (16.3%) participated more frequently than Whites (11.8%) and Hispanics (5.7%).

Hispanics were the most likely to be "self employed" (11.4%) whereas Blacks were the least likely (0%) and Whites fell in between (4.4%). From this data we see that

TABLE 27[a]

Occupation at Current job

	Hispanics	Blacks	Whites
Prof., Technical & Kindred Workers, Managers, Administrators except Farm.	2 (5.7)	4 (5.0)	7 (5.1)
Sales, Clerical, & Unskilled Workers	13 (37.1)	31 (38.8)	48 (35.3)
Craftsmen, Kindred Workers, Operatives except Transportation.	9 (25.7)	18 (23.8)	27 (19.9)
Transportation & Equipment Operatives, Laborers, Farmers, Farm Managers, Foremen, Service Workers, & Private Household Workers.	11 (31.4)	26 (32.5)	54 (39.7)
Totals	35	80	136

X^2=1.79 not significant.

TABLE 28[a b]

Class of Worker at Current Job

	Hispanics	Blacks	Whites
Private Company	29 (82.9)	67 (83.8)	114 (83.8)
Government	2 (5.7)	13 (16.3)	16 (11.8)
Self-employed	4 (11.4)	0 (0)	6 (4.4)
Totals	35	80	136

[a]Figures in parentheses = % of respondents ansering item.

[b]Descriptive table, no statistics calculated.

at this age and within the common circumstances of motherhood which these young women share, all three groups tended to have non-managerial jobs with little differentiation. Most worked for private industry, and Hispanics had the lowest participation rate in government jobs.

Occupational Aspirations and Expectations

From Table 29 we see that all three groups aspire to jobs with more responsibility within five years, with the Blacks leading the way at the professional/managerial level (37.5%), as compared with Hispanics (25%) and Whites (18.4%). It is important to note how frequently "minority aspirations" were higher than those of the "mainstream group". The group which was the least likely to be satisfied with the idea of remaining at the current level of employment were the Blacks (9.4%) who were followed by the Hispanics (25%), and then the Whites (29.9%). It is important to note that the majority of the mothers in the Black and Hispanic groups aspired to have either professional or "white collar" jobs.

With reference to the respondents' expected ability to achieve, their occupational aspirations at age 35 (Table 30), all three groups were very close to considering their chances excellent. The Hispanics were less strong in the "good" category but were the most optimistic in the "fair" category. It is important to note that none of

TABLE 29[a]

Occupational Expectations in Five Years

	Hispanics	Blacks	Whites
Prof., Technical & Kindred Workers, Manager, Adminstratos except Farm.	8 (25.0)	36 (37.5)	27 (18.4)
Sales, Clerical, & Unskilled Workers.	11 (34.4)	28 (29.2)	39 (26.5)
Craftsmen, Kindred Workers, Operatives except Transportation.	1 (3.1)	8 (8.3)	23 (15.5)
Transportation & Equipment Operatives, Laborers, Farmers, Farm Managers, Foremen, Service Workers, & Private Household Workers.	4 (12.5)	15 (15.6)	14 (9.5)
Same as Now	8 (25.0)	9 (9.4)	44 (29.9)
Totals	32	96	147

X^2=26.77 P<0.01

$X^2$of subcomparisons with Bonferroni Protection:
H/W= 4.69, not significant
H/B= 6.80, not significant
B/W=23.84, P<0.01

[a]Figures in parentheses = % of respondents anwering item.

TABLE 30[a]

Expected Ability to Achieve Occupational Aspirations at 35

	Hispanic	Black	White
Excellent	6 (18.8)	20 (19.2)	26 (18.3)
Good	11 (34.4)	48 (46.2)	61 (43.0)
Fair	12 (37.5)	26 (25.0)	40 (28.2)
Poor	3 (9.4)	10 (9.6)	15 (10.6)
Totals	32	104	142

X^2=2.25, not significant

[a]Figures in parentheses = % of respondents answering item.

the three groups of mothers produced a high response rate in the "poor" category.

From this section our developing hypotheses would be different from those frequently presented in the past in the social science literature on Hispanic mothers. In these results they expressed ambition for more professional and white collar employment and a solid optimism about reaching their occupational goals in the future.

Occupational Attitudes

With reference to work attitudes the NLS explored three areas with these mothers: work commitment, work benefits, and work satisfaction. With reference to work commitment there were few items in which there were significant differences among the three groups. The items about which there was little ambivalence were: "Respondent would seek more education if unable to support family" with 92%+ positive responses from each group; "Respondent would enter a training program if unable to support the family" again with 95%+ positive responses from each group; and "Respondent would shoplift if unable to support family" with 95.5%+ negative responses from each group (see Tables 31-36).

Other alternative solutions produced more of a variety of responses such as "Respondent would go on welfare if unable to support family." The majority of each of the

Work Commitment Tables

Table 31[a]

		Hispanics	Blacks	Whites
Respondent would seek more education if unable to support family?	Yes	41 (95.3)	109 (95.6)	166 (92.2)
	No	2 (4.7)	5 (4.4)	14 (7.9)
	Totals	43	114	180

X^2=1.58, not significant

Table 32[a]

		Hispanis	Blacks	Whites
Respondent would go on welfare if unable to support family?	Yes	11 (25.6)	45 (39.5)	59 (32.6)
	No	32 (74.4)	69 (60.5)	122 (67.4)
	Totals	43	114	181

X^2=3.04, not significant

Table33 [a] [b]

		Hispanics	Blacks	Whites
Respondent would enter a training program if unable to support family?	Yes	41 (95.3)	111 (97.4)	174 (96.7)
	No	2 (4.7)	3 (2.6)	6 (3.3)
	Totals	43	114	180

[a]Figures in parentheses = % of respondents answering item.

[b]Descriptive table, no statistics calculated.

Table 34[a]

		Hispanics	Blacks	Whites
Respondent would apply for food stamps if unable to support family	Yes	20 (48.8)	75 (68.2)	98 (54.1)
	No	21 (51.2)	35 (31.8)	83 (45.9)
	Totals	41	110	181

X^2=7.22 P<0.05

X^2 of subcomparisons with Bonferroni Protection:
H/W= 2.01, not significant
H/B= 4.02, not significant
B/W=23.84, P<0.01

Table 35[a] [b]

		Hispanics	Blacks	Whites
Respondent would shoplift if unable to support family?	Yes	2 (4.5)	4 (3.5)	3 (1.7)
	No	42 (95.5)	110 (96.5)	176 (98.3)
	Totals	44	114	179

[a]Figures in parentheses = % of respondents answering item.

[b]Diescriptive table, no statisctics calculated.

groups responded negatively to this item, and the Hispanics were the most retiscent about accepting this as an alternative. On the item "Respondent would apply for food stamps if unable to support family" there were significant differences only between Blacks and Whites, with the Whites less willing to take such an alternative. The Hispanics were in the middle with no significant differences in relation to either group and closely divided within themselves.

The last item which asked whether the respondent would work if she could comfortably live without working produced interesting and significant responses, again particularly between Blacks and Whites. The Blacks (82.1%) were in the lead with positive responses, but they were closely followed by Hispanics (72.7%) and Whites who lagged behind considerably with a positive response rate of only 27.1%. These findings, particularly the last item supported the hypothesis that Hispanic females are more interested in integrating the work and the mother role even when there is no economic pressure. This data provided important information about who consistently aspires to achieve.

The work benefits tables (37-58) provided information concerning the conditions of the work environment as the respondents described them. Some were objective questions which had nothing to do with respondent's perceptions;

Table 36[a]

		Hispanics	Blacks	Whites
Respondent would work if could live without working?	Yes	32 (72.7)	92 (82.1)	49 (27.1)
	No	12 (27.3)	20 (17.9)	132 (72.9)
	Totals	44	112	181

X^2= 93.26 P<0.01

X^2 of subcomparisons with Bonferroni Protection:
H/W=30.07, not significant
H/B= 1.19, not significant
B/W=81.86, P<0.01

Work Benefits Tables[a] [b]

Table 37

		Hispanics	Blacks	Whites
Employer offers health insurance?	No	22 (71.0)	39 (50.6)	70 (54.3)
	Yes	9 (29.0)	38 (49.4)	59 (45.7)
	Totals	31	77	129

X^2=3.81, not significant

Table 38[a] [b]

		Hispanics	Blacks	Whites
Employer offers life insurance?	No	24 (80.0)	47 (60.3)	85 (67.5)
	Yes	6 (20.0)	31 (39.7)	41 (32.5)
	Totals	30	78	126

X^2=5.94, not significant

[a]Figures in parentheses = % of respondents answering item.

[b]These items do not have 70% response rate for Blacks.

Table 39[a] [b]

		Hispanics	Blacks	Whites
Employer offers paid vacation?	No	15 (48.4)	21 (26.9)	52 (40.9)
	Yes	16 (51.6)	57 (73.1)	75 (59.1)
	Totals	31	78	127

X^2=5.94, not significant

Table 40[a]

Opportunity to do a Number of Different Things on the Job

	Hispanics	Blacks	Whites
Minimum amount	8 (21.6)	19 (22.1)	20 (12.2)
Not too much	9 (24.3)	22 (25.6)	42 (25.6)
Moderate amount	8 (21.6)	21 (24.4)	47 (28.7)
Quite alot	5 (13.5)	13 (15.1)	45 (27.4)
Maximum amount	7 (18.9)	11 (12.8)	10 (6.1)
Totals	37	86	164

X^2=16.40 $P<0.05$

X^2 of subcomparisons with Bonferroni Protection:
H/W=10.71, $P<0.01$
H/B= 8.14, not significant
B/W=10.62, not significant

[a]Figures in parentheses = % of respondents answering item.

[b]These items do not have 70% response rate for Blacks.

Table 41[a]

Opportunity to Deal with Other People at the Job

	Hispanics	Blacks	Whites
Minimum amount	4 (10.8)	13 (15.1)	14 (8.5)
Not too much	7 (18.9)	13 (15.1)	19 (11.6)
Moderate amount	6 (16.2)	11 (12.8)	22 (13.4)
Quite alot	13 (35.1)	32 (37.2)	70 (42.7)
Maximum amount	7 (18.9)	17 (19.8)	39 (23.8)
Totals	37	86	39

X^2=5.17, not significant

Table 42[a]

Opportunity for Independent Thought or Action at the Job

	Hispanics	Blacks	Whites
Minimum amount	10 (27.0)	16 (18.6)	22 (13.4)
Not too much	8 (21.6)	21 (24.4)	40 (24.4)
Moderate amount	9 (24.3)	23 (26.7)	45 (27.4)
Quite alot	5 (13.5)	18 (20.9)	38 (23.2)
Maximum amount	5 (13.5)	8 (9.3)	19 (11.6)
Totals	37	86	164

X^2=5.62, not significant

[a]Figures in parentheses = % of respondents answering item.

Table 43[a] [b]

Opportunity to Develop Close Friendships at Work

	Hispanics	Blacks	Whites
Minimum amount	2 (5.4)	8 (9.3)	18 (11.0)
Not too much	9 (24.3)	13 (15.1)	26 (15.9)
Moderate amount	10 (27.0)	16 (18.6)	39 (23.8)
Quite a lot	13 (35.1)	31 (36.0)	59 (36.0)
Maximum amount	3 (8.1)	18 (20.9)	22 (13.4)
Totals	37	86	164

Table 44[a] [b]

Quality of Feedback From Job

	Hispanics	Blacks	Whites
Minimum amount	3 (9.1)	6 (7.1)	8 (5.1)
Not too much	0 (0)	12 (14.3)	8 (5.1)
Moderate amount	12 (36.4)	18 (21.4)	30 (19.0)
Quite alot	10 (30.3)	33 (39.3)	69 (43.7)
Maximum amount	8 (24.2)	15 (17.9)	43 (27.2)
Totals	33	84	158

[a]Figures in parentheses = % of respondents answering item.

[b]Descriptive table, no statistics calculated.

Table 45[a]

The Job Gives You a Chance to do Your Best

	Hispanics	Blacks	Whites
Not at all true	5 (15.2)	8 (9.4)	9 (5.7)
Not too true	7 (21.2)	15 (17.2)	32 (20.3)
Somewhat true	10 (30.3)	37 (43.5)	69 (43.7)
Very true	11 (33.3)	25 (29.4)	48 (30.4)
Totals	33	85	158

X^2=4.97, not significant

Table 46[a]

Opportunity to do the Whole Job

	Hispanics	Blacks	Whites
Minimum amount	6 (16.2)	7 (8.1)	14 (8.5)
Not too much	7 (18.9)	8 (9.3)	12 (7.3)
Moderate amount	9 (24.3)	18 (20.9)	28 (17.1)
Quite alot	8 (21.6)	29 (33.7)	67 (40.9)
Maximum amount	7 (18.9)	24 (27.9)	43 (26.2)
Totals	37	86	164

X^2=11.59, not significant

[a]Figures in parentheses = % of respondents answering item.

Table 47[a]

How Much Broad Significance Does the Job Have?

	Hispanics	Blacks	Whites
Minimum amount	7 (18.9)	16 (18.6)	8 (4.9)
Not too much	7 (18.9)	17 (19.8)	28 (17.1)
Moderate amount	9 (24.3)	18 (20.9)	40 (24.4)
Quite alot	9 (24.3)	17 (19.8)	59 (36.0)
Maximum amount	5 (13.5)	18 (20.9)	29 (17.7)
Totals	37	86	164

X^2=19.21 $P<0.05$

X^2 of subcomparisons with Bonferroni Protection:
H/W=9.56, not significant
H/B=1.16, not significant
B/W=16.78, $P<0.01$

[a]Figures in parentheses = % of respondents answering item.

Table 48[a]

Are the Job's Physical Surroundings Pleasant?

	Hispanics	Blacks	Whites
Not at all true	1 (3.0	5 (5.9)	9 (5.7)
Not too true	5 (15.2)	13 (15.3)	26 (16.5)
Somewhat true	16 (48.5)	41 (48.2)	68 (43.0)
Very true	11 (33.3)	26 (30.6)	55 (34.8)
Totals	33	85	158

X^2=1.17, not significant

Table 49[a]

The Skills You are Learning Would be Valuable Betting a Better Job?

	Hispanics	Blacks	WHites
Not all all true	6 (18.2)	12 (14.1)	22 (13.9)
Not too true	5 (15.2)	20 (23.5)	32 (20.5)
Somewhat true	10 (30.3)	20 (24.7)	32 (30.4)
Very true	12 (36.4)	32 (37.6)	56 (35.4)
Totals	33	85	158

X^2=1.92, not significant

[a]Figures in parentheses = % of respondents answering item.

Table 50[a] [b]

Is The Job Dangerous?

	Hispanics	Blacks	Whites
Not at all true	20 (60.6)	50 (58.8)	73 (46.2)
Not too true	6 (18.2)	19 (22.4)	45 (28.5)
Somewhat true	6 (18.2)	12 (14.1)	27 (17.1)
Very true	1 (3.0)	4 (4.7)	13 (8.2)
Totals	33	85	158

Table 51[a]

Exposed to Unhealthy Conditions?

	Hispanics	Blacks	Whites
Not at all true	20 (60.6)	50 (58.8)	87 (55.1)
Not too true	6 (18.2)	21 (24.7)	28 (24.1)
Somewhat true	5 (15.2)	9 (10.6)	19 (12.0)
Very true	2 (6.1)	5 (5.9)	14 (8.9)
Totals	33	85	158

X^2=1.88, not significant

[a]Figures in parentheses = % of respondents answering item.

[b]Descriptive table, no statistics calculated.

Table 52[a]

The Pay is Good?

	Hispanics	Blacks	Whites
Not at all true	7 (21.2)	15 (17.6)	18 (11.4)
Not too true	10 (30.3)	18 (21.2)	25 (15.8)
Somewhat true	12 (36.4)	39 (45.9)	78 (49.4)
Very true	4 (12.1)	13 (15.3)	37 (23.4)
Totals	33	85	158

X^2=9.82, not significant

Table 53[a]

The Job Security is Good?

	Hispanics	Blacks	Whites
Not at all true	3 (9.1)	9 (10.6)	17 (10.8)
Not too true	9 (27.3)	13 (15.3)	15 (9.5)
Somewhat true	11 (33.3)	34 (40.0)	48 (30.4)
Very true	10 (30.3)	29 (34.1)	78 (49.4)
Totals	33	85	158

X^2=12.68, $P<0.05$

X^2 of subcomparisons with Bonferroni Protection:
H/W=9.17, not significant
H/B=2.26, not significant
B/W=6.05, not significant

[a]Figures in parentheses = % of respondents answering item.

Table 54[a] [b]

Are Your Co-workers on the Job Friendly?

	Hispanics	Blacks	Whites
Not at all true	1 (9.1)	1 (1.2)	2 (1.3)
Not too true	0 (0)	3 (3.6)	6 (3.9)
Somewhat true	8 (24.2)	26 (31.0)	47 (30.7)
Very true	24 (72.7)	54 (64.3)	98 (64.1)
Totals	33	84	153

Table 55[a] [b]

Is Your Supervisor Competent in His Job?

	Hispanics	Blacks	Whites
Not at all true	1 (3.0)	3 (3.6)	4 (2.6)
Not too true	3 (9.1)	4 (4.8)	6 (4.0)
Somewhat true	4 (12.1)	30 (35.7)	45 (29.8)
Very true	25 (75.8)	47 (56.0)	96 (63.6)
Totals	33	84	151

[a]Figures in parentheses = % of respondents ansering item.

[b]Descriptive table, no statistics calculated.

others were more subjective. Most of these tables were slightly below the 70% cut off point if the overall sample numbers were used. However, if the working mothers were considered exclusively, the response rates were nearly 100%. Most of the items were not significantly different across cultural groups. However, on items which were more objective in nature (for example the items: employer offers health insurance, life insurance, paid vacations, etc.), Hispanics responded negatively 20 Percentage points more frequently than did either of the other two groups.

With reference to more subjective questions (e.g., "opportunity to do a number of different things on the job"), the responses were fairly evenly distributed among the different possibilities. Slight positive skewing was noted on the following items: opportunity to deal with other people at the job, quality of feedback from the job, job giving a chance to do one's best, opportunity to do the whole job, physical surroundings of the job, skills learned on the job would be valuable for getting a better job, job is dangerous, exposure to unhealthy conditions, job security, friendliness of co-workers, and competence of supervisor. Negative skewing across the cultures was noted for: opportunity to do a number of different things, opportunity for independent thought or action, and good pay (Hispanics and Blacks were slightly more negative on this item.) On the following items little skewing was

noted: opportunity to develop close friendships at work, the broad significance of the job, and chances for promotions.

With reference to general work satisfaction items (Tables 57-59), 80% or more of each group of respondents reported that they would take another job. From 69% to 47% felt that it would be somewhat difficult to find a comparable job, with Hispanics being the most concerned and Whites being the most optimistic. Each group expressed that they liked their jobs fairly well or very much (78% or more).

In summary, the data reflected that attitudes and perceptions about the job were similar cross-culturally, and that more often than not they were positive. However, although many respondents from the three groups were interested in finding new positions, Hispanics were the most conservative about estimating the probability of finding comparable jobs. These findings have a contribution to make to the literature which states that employment problems frequently are the consequence of the subjects' negative attitudes.

Occupational Barriers

In the previous section the data began to reflect more environmental issues faced by these mothers in the form of work benefits or the lack of them. In this section data which reflect external factors that may block the

Table 56[a]

Are There Good Chances for Promotion at Your Job?

	Hispanics	Blacks	Whites
Not at all true	6 (18.2)	15 (18.8)	39 (24.8)
Not too true	7 (21.2)	20 (25.0)	33 (21.0)
Somewhat true	9 (27.3)	29 (36.3)	47 (29.9)
Very true	11 (33.3)	16 (20.0)	38 (24.5)
Totals	33	80	157

X^2=4.17, not significant

Work Satisfaction Tables

Table 57[a]

Would the Respondent Take Another Job?

	Hispanics	Blacks	Whites
Respondent would take another job	28 (80.0)	72 (88.9)	116 (74.8)
Respondent would keep the same job	6 (17.1)	8 (9.9)	38 (24.5)
Respondent would not work	1 (2.9)	1 (1.2)	1 (0.6)
Totals	35	81	155

X^2=8.63, not significant

[a]Figures in parentheses = % of respondents answering item.

Table 58[a]

How Hard Would it be to Find a Comparable Job?

	Hispanics	Blacks	Whites
Extremely difficult	3 (8.3)	23 (27.1)	36 (22.1)
Somewhat difficult	25 (69.4)	48 (56.5)	77 (47.2)
Not difficult	8 (22.2)	14 (16.5)	50 (30.7)
Totals	36	85	163

X^2=11.74 P<0.05

X^2 of subcomparisons with Bonferroni Protection:
H/W=6.41, not significant
H/B=5.29, not significant
B/W=5.89, not significant

Table 59[a]

Respondent's Attitude to Her Current Job

	Hispanics	Blacks	Whites
Likes it very much	12 (32.4)	21 (24.7)	61 (37.4)
Likes it somewhat	20 (54.1)	46 (54.1)	76 (46.6)
Dislikes it somewhat	5 (13.5)	13 (15.3)	18 (11.0)
Dislikes it very much	0 (0)	5 (5.9)	8 (4.9)
Totals	37	85	163

X^2=6.41, not significant

[a]Figures in parentheses = % respondents ansering item.

progress of those mothers will be described. Specifically the mothers were asked about two possible problems: transportation and English. With reference to the former (see Table 60), 60% or more of each of the groups did not consider transportation a problem, and there were not significant differences across cultures. With reference to English as a problem (see Table 61), 86% of each of the groups did not consider this a problem. Not unexpectedly, the Hispanic group did consider it more of a problem (14%) than did Blacks (3.6%) and Whites (2.2%). Additionally, the mothers were asked if there were other problems causing difficulties in getting a good job (see Table 62). Of the groups, 53.5% of the Hispanics, 35.5% of the Blacks, and 40.2% of the Whites responded positively. The specific problems identified by the mothers can be seen in Table 63.

In relation to other problems which stood in the way of these mothers getting a better job, all three groups felt that they lacked experience. Blacks and Hispanics more frequently reported this than did Whites. Lack of education was the second most frequently mentioned barrier for all three groups. Hispanics fell between Whites and Blacks in this category. The third highest specifically named issue for Hispanics was child care. They seemed to share this problem more with White mothers than with Black. The findings reflected that in addition to problems of discrimination, Hispanic mothers had a

Problems Getting a Good Job

Table 60[a]

		Hispanics	Blacks	Whites
Lack of transportation a problem?	No	26 (60.5)	71 (64.0)	120 (67.0)
	Yes	17 (39.5)	40 (36.0)	59 (33.0)
	Totals	43	111	179

X^2=0.76, not significant

Table 61[a b]

		Hispanics	Blacks	Whites
Difficulty with English a problem?	No	37 (86.0)	106 (96.4)	175 (97.8)
	Yes	6 (14.0)	4 (3.6)	4 (2.2)
	Totals	43	110	179

Table 62[a]

Any Other Difficulties Causing Problems?

		Hispanics	Blacks	Whites
Any other problems?	No	20 (46.5)	71 (64.3)	107 (59.8)
	Yes	23 (53.5)	39 (35.5)	72 (40.2)
	Totals	43	110	179

X^2=4.18, not significant

[a]Figures in parentheses = % of respondents answering item.

[b]Descriptive table, no statistics calculated.

Table 63[a b c]

First Other Problem Getting Good Job

	Hispanics	Blacks	Whites
Lack of experience	10 (43.5)	17 (43.6)	26 (37.1)
Lack of education	5 (21.7)	6 (15.4)	19 (27.1)
Lack of training	0 (0)	6 (15.4)	3 (4.3)
Lack of ability	0 (0)	1 (2.6)	2 (2.9)
Illiterate	0 (0)	1 (2.6)	0 (0)
Health problems	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (1.4)
Poor appearance	0 (0)	1 (2.6)	1 (1.4)
Lack of childcare	2 (8.7)	1 (2.6)	7 (10.0)
Family responsibilities	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (1.4)
Don't know where to look	1 (4.3)	0 (0)	0 (0)
Lack of available job	0 (0)	0 (0)	2 (2.9)
Other	5 (21.7)	6 (15.4)	8 (11.4)
Totals	23	39	70

a Figures in parentheses = % of respondents answering item.

[b]Descriptive table, no statistics calculated.

[c]Number of subjects on this table is the result of a skip pattern from a previous table.

number of other problems with which to contend (one of them being English) and of the ones specifically mentioned the most potent in order of importance were: lack of experience, education, and child care.

In relation to discrimination (Tables 64-67) the data showed that in race, nationality, and age these Hispanic women experienced more stress than did either of the other two groups. Predictably so, racial discrimination was very similarly experienced by Blacks. Interestingly enough the most potent stressor at this stage of life, which cut across races and went beyond sex discrimination, was the issue of age.

The above data, therefore, reflect that Hispanic as well as Black mothers feel discriminated against. Of course the perennial question in psychology is whether these are attitudes of the women which become self-fulfilling prophesies, or are they a reflection of harsh reality with which the young mothers must contend. The best method to explore this further is to compare such findings as the ones presented here with studies which examine discriminatory processes in large institutions.

Another important factor which could be a barrier in terms of acquiring a good job is having or not having essential information about the world of work. The NLS posed a number of questions to the respondents which explored their knowledge about the nature of different jobs.

Discrimination Tables

Table 64[a]

		Hispanics	Blacks	Whites
Racial discrimination a problem?	No	36 (83.7)	93 (83.8)	175 (97.8)
	Yes	7 (16.3)	18 (16.2)	4 (2.2)
	Totals	43	111	179

X^2=20.41 P<0.01

X^2 of subcomparisons with Bonferroni Protection:
H/W=11.69, P<0.01
H/B= 5.48, not significant
B/W=17.16, P<0.01

Table 65[a]

		Hispanics	Blacks	Whites
Nationality discrimination is a problem?	No	38 (88.4)	100 (90.1)	178 (99.4)
	Yes	5 (11.6)	11 (9.9)	1 (0.6)
	Totals	43	111	179

X^2=16.70 P < 0.01

X^2 of subcomparisons with Bonferroni Protection:
H/W=12.22, P<0.01
H/B= .00, not significant
B/W=12.84, P<0.01

[a]Figures in parentheses = % of respondents answering item.

Table 66[a]

		Hispanics	Blacks	Whites
Sex discrimination a problem?	No	38 (88.4)	96 (86.5)	148 (82.7)
	Yes	5 (11.6)	15 (13.5)	31 (17.3)
	Totals	43	111	179

X^2=1.28, not significant

Table 67

		Hispanics	Blacks	Whites
Age discrimination a problem?	No	24 (55.8)	80 (72.1)	107 (59.8)
	Yes	19 (44.2)	31 (27.9)	72 (40.2)
	Totals	43	111	179

X^2=5.67, not significant

[a]Figures in parentheses = % of respondents who answered item.

For this group of mothers the results were the following: White mothers were consistently (with one exception only) the most accurate in determing the nature of each of the jobs. The exception was the "economist". The difference, however, on this item was not significant. The Hispanics were the next group to describe consistently and accurately the nature of the jobs, also with one exception (medical illustrator). This exception too was not significant. Most of the responses of all three groups were accurate with the 70% range with two exceptions: "medical illustrator" which produced a range within the forties for Blacks and Hispanics and the sixties for Whites and "machinist" which produced a range from 30% to 60% across the groups (Tables 68-76). Thus it becomes clear that the group which most needs information of the nature of different jobs is the Black group. The Hispanics followed and then the Whites. All three groups of mothers showed a need to learn more about the nature of jobs given that most of their responses were only within the 70% correct response range.

Occupational Role Models

The impact of role models is an issue which has become well known in the literature. As in education, the NLS provided some information concerning occupational role models in the form of a few questions concerning whether or not the respondents' role models (mothers, fathers, and

World of Work Tables

Table 68[a]

		Hispanics	Blacks	Whites
Hospital orderly's duties	Correct answers	29 (72.5)	81 (71.7)	158 (88.3)
	Incorrect answers	11 (27.5)	32 (28.3)	21 (11.7)
	Totals	40	113	179

X^2=14.22, P<0.01

X^2 of subcomparisons with Bonferroni Protection:
H/W=5.31, not significant
H/B=1.12, not significant
B/W=11.74, P<0.01

Table 69[a]

		Hispanics	Blacks	Whites
Department store buyer's duties	Correct answers	31 (75.6)	73 (64.0)	140 (78.2)
	Incorrect answers	10 (24.4)	41 (36.0)	39 (21.8)
	Totals	41	114	179

X^2=7.27 P<0.05

X^2 of subcomparisons with Bonferroni Protection:
H/W= 5.31, not significant
H/B= 1.12, not significant
B/W=11.74, P<0.01

[a]Figures in parentheses = % of respondents answering item.

Table 70[a]

		Hispanics	Blacks	Whites
Key punch operator's duties	Correct answers	28 (71.8)	73 (65.2)	124 (70.5)
	Incorrect	11 (28.2)	39 (34.8)	52 (29.5)
	Totals	39	112	176

X^2=1.07, not significant

Table 71[a]

		Hispanics	Blacks	Whites
Fork lift operator's duties	Correct answers	29 (74.4)	69 (62.7)	148 (84.1)
	Incorrect answers	10 (25.6)	41 (37.3)	28 (15.9)
	Totals	39	110	176

X^2=15.83 P<0.01

X^2 of subcomparisons with Bonferroni Protection:
H/W=1.46, not significant
H/B=1.25, not significant
B/W=15.73, P<0.01

[a]Figures in parentheses = % of respondents who answered item.

Table 72[a]

		Hispanics	Blacks	Whites
Medical illustrator's duties	Correct answers	19 (46.3)	54 (47.8)	113 (64.6)
	Incorrect answers	22 (53.7)	59 (52.2)	62 (35.2)
	Totals	41	113	175

X^2=9.85, not significant

X^2 of subcomparisons with Bonferroni Protection:
H/W=3.91, not significant
H/B= .00, not significant
B/W=7.27, P<0.01

Table 73[a]

		Hispanics	Blacks	Whites
Machinist's duties	Correct answers	19 (47.5)	34 (31.2)	112 (63.3)
	Incorrect answers	21 (52.5)	75 (68.8)	65 (36.7)
	Totals	40	109	177

X^2=27.96 P<0.01

X^2 of subcomparisons with Bonferroni Protection:
H/W= 2.77, not significant
H/B= 2.72, not significant
B/W=26.52, P<0.01

[a]Figures in parentheses = % of respondents answering item.

Table 74[a]

		Hispanics	Blacks	Whites
Dietician's duties	Correct	28 (71.8)	69 (61.6)	142 (79.3)
	Incorrect	11 (28.2)	43 (38.4)	37 (20.7)
	Totals	39	112	179

X^2=10.84 P<0.01

X^2 of subcomparisons with Bonferroni Protection:
H/W= .67, not significant
H/B= .41, not significant
B/W=9.98, P<0.01

Table 75[a]

		Hispanics	Blacks	Whites
Economist's duties	Correct	31 (81.6)	81 (72.3)	141 (80.6)
	Incorrect	7 (18.4)	31 (27.7)	34 (19.4)
	Totals	38	112	175

X^2=3.04, not significant

[a]Figures in paretheses = % of respondents answering item.

spouses) were employed during 1978. These items provided limited information about the employment histories of each of these individuals, but they do provide information about the status of occupational role models for the respondents around the time of the interview.

As we see in Table 77, White mothers, followed closely by Black mothers, were the least frequently employed. Table 78 provides information about the level of occupations which these mothers had. Although this is a descriptive table, the third and least skilled category was the most frequently filled by Hispanics (88.2%), then Blacks (79.1%), and lastly (56.8%) Whites. The highest level, as would be expected, had the reverse relationship, with Whites at 13.5%, Blacks at 6% and Hispanics at 5.9%.

With reference to employment of father, the data in Table 79 reflected that Whites and Hispanics had a very similar frequency of rate of employment (72.9% and 72.7% respectively) and that Blacks had 58.8%. With reference to types of jobs, Table 80 indicates that White and Hispanic fathers more frequently had higher-status jobs (both 25%) than did Blacks (13.6%).

Finally in relation to spouses, Whites had the highest employment rate (73.5%); they were followed by Hispanics (63.6%) and then Blacks (33.3%). On this particular category the comparison of type of occupation across

Table 76[a]

		Hispanics	Blacks	Whites
Assembler's duties	Correct answers	29 (72.5)	72 (64.9)	140 (78.7)
	Incorrect answers	11 (27.5)	39 (35.1)	38 (21.3)
	Totals	40	111	178

X^2=6.65, P<0.05

X^2 of subcomparisons with Bonferroni Protection:
H/W= .40, not significant
H/B= .47, not significant
B/W=5.96, P<0.01

Occupational Role Models Tables

Table 77[a]

Was the Respondent's Mother/Step Mother Employed In 1978?

	Hispanics	Blacks	Whites
Yes	17 (38.6)	67 (58.8)	111 (61.3)
No	27 (61.4)	47 (41.2)	70 (38.7)
Totals	44	114	181

X^2=7.57 P<0.05

X^2 of subcomparisons with Bonferroni Protection:
H/W=6.53, P<0.01
H/B=4.39, not significant
B/W= .10, not significant

[a]Figures in parentheses = % of respondents answering items.

Table 78[a] [b]

Respondent's Mother's/Stepmother's Longest Occupation in 1978

	Hispanics	Blacks	Whites
Prof. technical & kindred workers, managers, administrators except farm.	1 (5.9)	4 (6.0)	15 (13.5)
Sales, clerical, & unskilled workers	1 (5.9)	10 (14.9)	33 (29.7)
Craftsmen & kindred workers operatives, laborers, farmers, farm managers, foremen, service workers, & private household workers	15 (88.2)	53 (79.1)	63 (56.8)
Totals	17	67	111

Table 79[a]

Was Respondent's Father/Stepfather employed During 1978?

	Hispanics	Blacks	Whites
Yes	32 (72.7)	66 (57.9)	132 (72.9)
No	12 (27.3)	48 (42.1)	49 (27.1)
Totals	44	114	181

X^2=7.80 P<0.05

X^2 of the subcomparisons with Bonferroni Protection:
H/W= .03, not significant
H/B=2.37, not significant
B/W=6.50, P<0.01

[a]Figures in parentheses = % of respondents answering item.

[b]Descriptive table, no statistics calculated.

Table 80[a] [b]

Respondent's Father/Stepfather's Longest Occupation in 1978

	Hispanics	Blacks	Whites
Prof. technical & kindred workers, managers, administrators except farm.	8 (25.0)	9 (13.6)	33 (25.0)
Sales, clerical, & unskilled workers.	1 (3.1)	6 (9.1)	13 (9.8)
Craftsmen & kindred workers operatives, laborers, farmers, farm managers, foremen, service workers & private household workers	23 (71.9)	51 (77.3)	86 (65.2)
Totals	32	66	132

X^2=5.11, not significant

Table 81[a]

Was the Respondent's Spouse Employed in 1978?

	Hispanic	Black	White
Yes	28 (63.6)	38 (33.3)	133 (73.5)
No	16 (36.4)	76 (66.7)	48 (26.5)
Totals	44	114	181

X^2=47.01 P<0.01

X^2 of subcomparisons with Bonferroni Protection:
H/W= 1.24, P<0.01
H/B=10.77, not significant
B/W=44.64, P<0.01

[a]Figures in parentheses = % of respondents ansering item.

[b]Descriptive table, no statistics calculated.

Table 82[a] [b]

Longest Occupation Held by Respondent's Spouse During 1978

	Hispanics	Blacks	Whites
Prof. technical & kindred workers, managers, administrators except farm.	2 (6.7)	2 (5.3)	10 (7.3)
Sales, clerical & unskilled workers.	1 (3.3)	3 (7.9)	4 (2.9)
Craftsmen & kindred workers operatives, laborers, farmers, farm managers, foremen, service workers & private household workers	25 (83.3)	33 (86.9)	119 (86.9)
Did not work	2 (6.7)	0 (0)	4 (4.0)
Totals	30	38	137

[a]Figures in parentheses = % respondents anwering item.

[b]Descriptive table, no statistics calculated.

cultures was more similar than it was on either of the above two catgories with a relatively low rate of employment in the highest-status category (Hispanics 6.7%, Blacks 5.3%, and Whites 7.3%). The majority of all three groups was at the low end of the job status scale, with the following rates in the third category: Hispanics (83.3%) Blacks (86.8%), and Whites (86.9%).

D. MOTHERHOOD

Actual Family Size

With reference to family size (Table 83) the data reflected that the three groups had a similar pattern for having one child. The Hispanic had a slightly higher frequency for having two or more children than did Whites or Blacks; still the rates for each of the groups were not significantly different.

Ideal, Desired, and Expected Children

When comparing ideal, desired, and expected number of children (Tables 84, 85, and 86) in the 5 or more children category, Hispanics were slightly above Blacks and Blacks slightly above Whites in considering this to be the ideal. For all three groups, however, the frequencies and percentages for 5+ children were low (Hispanics 9.1%, Blacks 8.8%, and Whites 4.4%). In the desired categories, Hispanics tended to desire more children than either Blacks or Whites; although the differences were not significantly different. None of the groups actually

Motherhood Tables

Table 83

Number of Children Respodent Has Had

	Hispanics	Blacks	Whites
One	27 (71.1)	87 (82.1)	135 (81.3)
Two or more	11 (28.9)	19 (17.9)	31 (18.7)
Totals	38	106	166

X^2= .38, not significant

Table 84

		Hispanics	Blacks	Whites
Ideal number of children	0-2	21 (47.7)	62 (54.9)	111 (61.3)
	3-4	19 (43.2)	41 (36.3)	62 (34.2)
	5 or more	4 (9.1)	10 (8.8)	8 (4.4)
	Totals	44	113	181

X^2=4.73, not significant

Table 85[a]

		Hispanics	Blacks	Whites
Desired number of children	0-2	25 (56.8)	81 (71.1)	120 (66.7)
	3-4	14 (31.8)	30 (26.3)	54 (30.0)
	5 or more	5 (11.4)	3 (2.6)	6 (3.3)
	Totals	44	114	180

[a]Descriptive table, no statistics calculated.

expected to have five children over the 2.2% level. In the 3 to 4 children category, the Hispanic ideal was higher than that of Blacks or Whites; the desirability was similar to Whites and only slightly higher than Blacks. Hispanic mothers did expect to have three or four children more frequently than did the other two groups (Hispanics 27.3%, Blacks 8.0%, Whites 15.6%).

In the 0 to 2 children category Hispanics fell below Blacks and Whites in considering this the ideal. They were the least likely to consider 0 to 2 children desirous. Their expectations reflected the same pattern. Their actual rate of reproduction, however, was similar at this stage to Blacks and Whites, and statistically speaking, the groups were not significantly different in any of the four tables. Based on the above data the hypothesis can be made that although Hispanic females may idealize and desire more children, their actual reproduction at the time of the interview did not reflect this proportionately.

Role Models for Motherhood

The NLS item which explored the number of siblings that the respondent had provided basic information about their "role models" for motherhood (family size). Table 87 summarizes the results. Hispanics were the least likely of the three groups to have no siblings (0%). They were followed by Blacks (2.9%) and then Whites (4.4%). They

Table 86[a] [b]

		Hispanics	Blacks	Whites
Expected number of children	0	8 (18.2)	28 (25.0)	35 (19.4)
	1 - 2	24 (54.5)	73 (65.2)	113 (62.8)
	3 - 4	12 (27.3)	9 (8.0)	28 (15.6)
	5 +	0 (0)	2 (1.8)	4 (2.2)
	Totals	44	112	180

Table 87[a]

		Hispanics	Blacks	Whites
Number of siblings respondent has	0	0 (0)	3 (2.6)	8 (4.4)
	1	7 (15.6)	7 (6.1)	22 (12.2)
	2	4 (9.1)	10 (8.8)	24 (13.3)
	3	6 (13.6)	13 (11.4)	49 (27.4)
	4+	27 (61.4)	81 (71.1)	78 (43.1)
	Totals	44	114	181

X^2=27.46, P<0.01

X^2 of subcomparisons with Bonferroni Protection:
H/W= 7.97, not significant
H/B= 5.15, not significant
B/W=22.71, P<0.01

[a]Figures in parentheses = % of respondents answering item.

[b]Descriptive table, no statistics calculated.

were the most likely to have one sibling (15.6%) when compared with Whites (12.2%) and Blacks (2.6%). Hispanics and Blacks were very similar in their pattern of having two siblings (9.1% and 8.8% respectively). Whites, however, were the most likely to have two siblings (13.3%). They were followed by HIspanics (13.6%) and then by Whites who were the most likely with 43.1%. Significant differences were found only between Hispanics and Whites. The data demonstrated across cultures that these mothers came from families which were larger than the national norm. Most of the respondents in each group reported having three or more siblings. Thus all had role models for slightly larger than average families.

E. Other Psychological Factors

Family Role Attitudes

The NLS interviews posed a series of questions to the respondents which addressed themselves to role relationships in the the family. The responses produced an interesting pattern for this group as a whole, that is, as women; and, for each group in relation to the other two.

First of all, as a whole, the majority of women's responses on each item was in the direction of "non-traditional roles" for women in the family. The lowest percentage rate of non-traditional responses for any item was 59.1%, and most of the responses were in the 70 to 80 percentiles. It is important to keep in mind that this is

not simple a random sample of women but rather a select group of women who have taken up the mothering role at a relatively young age and who are married more frequently than the general population. Therefore, they are living the actual dynamics of family life and out of this experience they still produce non-traditional views.

Cross-culturally, these mothers' responses did not produce a single significant difference. This, of course, is an interesting finding given the nature of this sub-sample and the difference which does exist between these real life findings and the portrayal of Hispanic women's values in the literature (see Tables 88-95).

Sense of Individual Control Versus Luck

The NLS also included questions which were designed to explore the individual respondent's feeling of personal control as opposed to luck or chance in her life. In general the results reflected that on the great majority of these items most of the mothers expressed a sense of personal control over luck or chance in their lives. Again, recalling the contents of the literature on women from Freud to Bardwick, women have been portrayed as having an external locus of control. As can be seen from reviewing the data in Tables 96-99, this is not the case with this cross-cultural group of women.

In relation to inter-group comparisons the results were not significantly different. This fact is important

Family Roles Tables

Table 88[a]

		Hispanics	Blacks	Whites
A woman's place is in the home.	Disagree	35 (79.5)	98 (86.7)	145 (80.6)
	Agree	9 (20.5)	15 (13.3)	35 (19.4)
	Totals	44	113	180

X^2=2.13, not significant

Table 89[a]

		Hispanics	Blacks	Whites
Wife with family has no time for outside work.	Disagree	32 (72.7)	93 (83.8)	141 (78.8)
	Agree	12 (27.3)	18 (16.2)	38 (21.2)
	Totals	44	111	179

X^2=2.56, not significant

Table 90[a]

		Hispanics	Blacks	Whites
A working wife feels more useful	Disagree	13 (29.5)	30 (26.5)	59 (32.5)
	Agree	31 (70.5)	83 (73.5)	121 (67.2)
	Totals	44	113	180

X^2=1.29, not significant

[a]Figures in parentheses = % of respondents answering item.

Table 91[a]

		Hispanics	Blacks	Whites
Working wives lead to juvinile delinquency.	Disagree	32 (72.7)	95 (85.6)	135 (75.0)
	Agree	12 (27.3)	16 (14.4)	45 (25.0)
	Totals	44	111	180

X^2=5.41, not significant

Table 92[a]

		Hispanics	Blacks	Whites
Both parents need to work due to inflation.	Disagree	7 (57.9)	13 (11.5)	36 (20.0)
	Agree	37 (84.1)	100 (88.5)	144 (80.0)
	Totals	44	113	180

X^2=3.63, not significant

Table 93[a]

		Hispanics	Blacks	Whites
Traditional roles are best.	Disagree	26 (61.9)	76 (67.3)	117 (65.4)
	Agree	16 (38.1)	37 (32.7)	62 (34.6)
	Totals	42	113	179

X^2=.40, not significant

[a]Figures in parentheses = % of respondents answering item.

Table 94[a]

		Hispanics	Blacks	Whites
Men should share housework.	Disagree	7 (15.9)	15 (13.3)	32 (17.8)
	Agree	37 (84.1)	98 (96.7)	148 (82.2)
	Totals	44	113	180

X^2=1.05, not significant

Table 95[a]

		Hispanics	Blacks	Whites
Women are happier in traditional roles.	Disagree	26 (59.1)	83 (74.8)	126 (70.4)
	Agree	18 (40.9)	28 (25.2)	53 (29.6)
	Totals	44	111	179

X^2=3.72, not significant

[a]Figures in parentheses = % respondents answering item.

Sense of Individual Control V Luck Tables

Table 96[a]

	Hispanics	Blacks	Whites
In control	31 (72.1)	69 (60.5)	119 (65.7)
Not in control	12 (27.9)	45 (39.5)	62 (34.3)
Totals	43	114	181

X^2=1.99, not significant

Table 97[a]

	Hispanics	Blacks	Whites
Respondent's plans work	24 (55.8)	48 (42.1)	86 (47.5)
Matter of luck	19 (44.2)	66 (57.9)	95 (52.5)
Totals	43	114	181

X^2=2.45, not significant

Table 98[a]

	Hispanics	Blacks	Whites
Luck is not a factor	37 (86.0)	93 (81.6)	155 (85.6)
Flip a coin	6 (14.0)	21 (18.4)	26 (14.4)
Totals	43	114	181

X^2=.22, not significant

[a]Figures in parentheses = % of respondents answering item.

Table 99[a]

	Hispanics	Blacks	Whites
Luck plays a big role	21 (48.8)	55 (48.2)	83 (45.9)
Luck plays no role	22 (51.2	59 (51.8)	98 (54.1)
Totals	43	114	181

X^2=.22, not significant

[a]Figures in parentheses = % of respondents answering item.

again because of the way minorities in general, and particularly Hispanic women, are portrayed in the literature. Additionally, it is worth noting that although the differences were not statistically different, the Hispanic group did express the highest sense of control of any of the groups.

Discussion

This study was originally conceived as a preliminary exploratory study from a cross-cultural prespective of young Hispanic mothers who are enrolled and/or employed. There were a number of goals involved. The first was to gather basic information about these mothers directly from them using a survey which could provide a national sample population. The second goal was to summarize the findings and contribute a profile of these Hispanic mothers, the characteristics of which could be compared with previous findings on the subject within the social science literature. The third goal was to make recommendations for policy and research based on the findings. A summary of the above-mentioned goals will follow in this chapter.

A. Summary of the Hispanic Mother's Profile

Difference which were statistically supported can be summarized in two statements. Hispanics were significantly different from both of the other groups on the following dimensions: birth, language spoken in the home in childhood, marital status, the lack of a high school diploma, the highest grade completed by mother and father, and the occupational expectations in five years. Secondly, Hispanics shared the following dimensions with Blacks which

were significantly different from Whites: the number of siblings who were enrolled in school and the reported experience of discrimination due to nationality and/or race.

However, a much more complete representation of Hispanic mothers can be generated by looking beyond those characteristics which statistically differentiated them from the other cultures. In the following section a summary will be presented of the differences which were noteworthy from the data generated by this study.

First of all, in the section which described general chracteristics it was found that when groups were compared, the Hispanic females had a frequency of motherhood which was between that of BLacks and Whites (Hispanics 15%, Blacks 21%, and Whites 21%. When comparing mothers cross-culturally, the Hispanic mothers had the lowest frequency of employment and/or enrollment in school (Hispanics 29%, Blacks 35%, and Whites 42%). However, when comparing the employed/enrolled groups of mothers cross-culturally, Hispanics were the most likely to be working (Hispanics 80%, Blakcs 70%, Whites 75%).

With reference to culture, nationality, and language, the data showed that the majority of the Hispanic mothers in the subsample had been born in the United States (71%). Of the immigrants (29% of the total), the majority (10 out of 13) came to the United States after they were 14. A total of 89% of the Hispanics spoke Spanish in their homes

in childhood. In relation to racial/ethnic background, the Hispanic group was 43% Mexican American, 9% Mexican, 14% self identified as "other Hispanic," 4.5% Puerto Rican and 4.5% Cuban.

With reference to religion, 80% of the Hispanics reported that they were rasied as Catholics, and most reported that they continued to practice Catholicism at the time of the interview. Hispanics tended to go to church more frequently than Whites but less than Blacks.

Hispanics had a mean age of 20 which was the same as that of Blacks and Whites. The majority of them had mothered one child and a very small percentage of them had had two or more. They tended to be married (64%), a frequency which was similar to that of Whites. Finally, Hispanics were the least likely of the three groups to be divorced.

In relation to education they had an intermediate frequency for being enrolled in school (Hispanics 34%, Blacks 52%, Whites 24%). However, only 39% of the Hispanic mothers completed more than the eleventh grade. This was the lowest frequency of the three groups. Linked with this was the lowest rate of obtaining a high school diploma or its equivalent (Hispanics 45%, Blacks 76%, Whites 74%). With reference to educational aspirations Hispanic mothers were not significantly different from the other two groups. Of the Hispanic mothers, 34% wanted to obtain a Bachelor's

degree of more (Blacks 51%, Whites 37%); but their expectations were lower (Hispanics 22%, Blacks 32%, Whites 19%).

Hispanic mothers most frequently gave marriage, pregnancy and home-related responsabilities for having left school (Hispanics 43%, BLacks 29%, Whites 18%).

With reference to school attitudes in the limited sample of mothers attending high school or below, the Hispanic mothers were very positive as were the other two groups. The item with the most negative responses was about feeling bored in school, only 67% disagreed. (However the other two cultures seemed even more bored!)

Hispanic mothers' role models for education were significantly different from othe other two groups. A total of 58% of the Hispanic respondents' mothers and 50% of their fathers did not go beyond eighth grade. Black and Whites mothers and fathers had significantly more education. In the Hispanic group 66% had siblings who were enrolled at the time of the interview. Blacks and Whites had significantly higher frequencies for this item. Hispanic spouses also had lower levels of education than the other two groups. This pattern was not repeated in relation to the highest grade the closest friend of the respondent wanted to complete. Still more than 50% of them fell below the college level. However, the closest friends of the White mothers had more limited aspriations.

respondents were: lack of experience, education and child care.

With reference to problems of a discriminatory nature, the Hispanics shared a concern about age discrimination with the other two groups. Discrimination based on nationality and race were shared only with Blacks.

On "world of work" items in the NLS, the Hispanic mothers were less accurate than Whites but more accurate than Blacks in identifying the nature of a variety of jobs; still, they did demonstrate a need to learn more about the subject.

With reference to role models for work, The Hispanic respondents' mothers were the least frequently employe in 1978 of the three groups. They also tended to have the lowest level of jobs. The respondents' fathers' employment rates, however, were similar to that of White fathers and their job status was also similar. Finally, spouse employment rates for the young Hispanic mothers were second highest at 64% surpassed only be that of the young White mothers; spouses.

On the subject of motherhood, there were no significant differences across groups for having one child. The rate for Hispanics was 70%. They had a somewhat higher though not signficantly different rate for having more than one child as compared with the other two groups. Hispanic mothers also had a higher frequency for idealizing

and desiring a somewhat larger number of children than did the other two groups, but they did not actually expect to have them at a proportionate rate.

With reference to role models for family size, Hispanics were in an intermediate position between the other two groups for having four siblings, and they were the least likely to have no siblings at all. Finally, they shared with the other two groups the characteristic of coming from larger than average families.

In the family role attitudes items Hispanics, as well as the other two groups, demonstrated a strong trend in the direction of non-traditional responses. Hispanic mothers had the strongest sense of overall personal control of any of the three groups, though the differences were not significant and the overall trend of the three groups was diffinitely in the direction of a sense of personal control.

B. Relation to Other Research

Through its cross-cultural perspective the study supported more recent research which indicates that young women facing the considerable responsibilities of motherhood do aspire to achieve. It also confirmed that there is a cross-cultural gap between achievement and aspirations for these young mothers. It did not, however, support the contention that this gap is a consequence of rigid sex role attitudes or of an external sense of control. According

to these women, the strongest barriers which they faced were: lack of education and experience, transportation problems, age discrimination for all, and racial and nationality discrimination, language problems, and home responsibilities for some.

The results did not support the assumptions in the literature that Hispanic women are more rigid about family roles than are women from other cultures. They did however, support Lord's findings Hispanic women are more interested in combining motherhood with outside employment then White women. The results did not support the assumption that Hispanic women have a more externalized sense of control than other cultures. In fact the results of this study demonstrate that the Hispanic group of enrolled and/or employed yong mothers was the least "luck-oriented" of the three.

Finally, the findings did support the hypothesis that Hispanic women face external barriers some of which they share with the other two cultures, others only with Blacks, and still others they carry alone (e.g., language, stressors of immigration, etc).

C. Recommendations for Research and Policy

The purpose of this study was to provide a more subject-generated overview of the young Hispanic mothers' experiences. As such it is only a starting point from which more indepth

Of the group of Hispanic mothers, 50% worked, a percentage which was higher than either of the other two groups. For this groups of working Hispanic mothers, 94% had non-managerial level jobs and 80% or more worked in private industry as did comprable frequencies of the other two groups. They had the lowest participation in government jobs and the highest in self-employment. They had high aspirations for professional levels of work in the future, as did Blacks. Their expectations to achieve their occupational goals in the future were positive.

Their work commitment was also strong. They were very positive about training as an alternative to take if they could not support their families as were the other two groups. The Hispanics were also interested in continuing to work even when it was not economically necessary. This was more frequently true for Hispanics than for the other two groups.

With reference to work benefits in items that were more objective, Hispanics reported many fewer benefits available at the job than did the other two groups. There was little difference among the groups on the other items.

On the subject of occupational barriers, 40% of the Hispanics considered transportation a problem. A similar percentage of the other two groups considered this a problem as well. Of the Hispanics 14% considered that English was a problem. Additional problems identified by these

and specific research should emerge. An examination of the Hispanic mother profile shows that there are a number of critical points which need further exploration. The gap between aspirations when compared to dropout rates needs to be studied carefully with a larger sample of interviewees. A more open-ended interview could be beneficial in order to gain insight into the wide range of special circumstances and barriers which young Hispanic mothers face and to explore what, if any, common personal dynamics they bring to such situations.

Secondly, research in the area of cross-cultural relations in school systems, as well as employment settings, continues to be absolutely crucial. The work of organizational systems analysis is, relatively speaking, a young component of psychology, and its methodology needs refinement. This type of exploration is particularly important for a more realistic understanding of cross-cultural relations.

Thirdly, the continuation of research in the area of healthy bicultural development is required as well. For groups which value the maintenance of a separate cultural identity while simultaneously participating in a larger society, this is particularly important. It is even more important to those groups which have experienced discrimination and exploitation in this country. In the past decade or so there were a small number of attempts made

to develop bicultural educational models. Some of these were highly successful in assisting immigrants, as well as native-born Hispanics, to consolidate their biculturalism from a psychological and sociological frame of reference. The careful study of those models which were successful in order to replicate them efficiently is also a critical task for future research.